1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

FOREWORD

THE following study was made between the years 1931 and 1935, in a series of sojourns with the Papago, totaling some fifteen months. It is to be considered as a sequel to a previous paper on Social Organization (Underhill, 1939) and uses data furnished by many of the same informants.

The study was made principally on the Sells reservation, the largest of three now occupied by the Papago, with a population (1940) of 5,577. At that time the San Xavier reservation had 513 and Gila Bend 127. Also, some visits were made across the Mexican border, where once there was a large Papago population. At present there is scarcely a village there which can be called exclusively Indian. The only one which holds a yearly Papago ceremony (Quitovaca) draws its performers largely from the American side. In Arizona, on the contrary, the Papago are a segregated group, with many ceremonies intact and others vividly remembered. Much regional difference was found, so that even on the Sells reservation ceremonial variations had to be traced through northern, southern, and western Papago.

Each village or group of related villages was found to have its specialist, usually hereditary, for every ceremony. A few of the more conservative objected to revealing their lore, but most finally consented to speak, always through an interpreter from the local group. Informants and interpreters are numbered for purposes of reference, and the number of each appears in parenthesis in the text following any statement for which he is the special authority.

Songs and ceremonial speeches were recorded in text, with interlinear translation. Here, there appears only the free transla-

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SHAMANISM

THE shamar was the only individualist in Papago society. He received genuine pay for his services, while others, even those with power visions, worked only for their food. He was not afraid of being rich, nor did he resent the epithet of "stingy," which would blight another man. But he paid for his eminence with the constant risk of his life. He must guess correctly at the outcome of war and games, for if he failed and had no equivocation ready, he was liable to lynching. If he lost too many patients, he must be quick to accuse some other shaman of sorcery and to choose one weaker than himself, lest the accusation rebound and destroy him. Only a bold and astute man could have sustained such a role, and it was, perhaps, his unusual character as well as the dread of his power which subjected him to the constant suspicion of sorcery.

VARIETIES OF SHAMANISM

The Papago shaman (*mákai*) was primarily a diviner and prophet.[1] He "saw" the date of the first summer storm, the outcome of games, the whereabouts of the enemy, or the cause of disease. Subsequent action was often the responsibility of others. Still, the prophet-shaman could work various forms of magic, either to show his own power or to prevent sorcery. "A rain shaman could spit on a crystal, hold it toward the sun, and cause drops of water to fall out." He could shake rain from his eagle plumes or from the

[1] The Pima also use the word *mákai* for diviner and magician (Russell, pp. 238–60), while the curing shaman is *siatcokam*. The Papago do not differentiate the two, but the difference in terms is, perhaps, not to be taken seriously, since the Papago have another word (*siiwanyi*) for rain magician. Possibly there were several terms current in the area at one time, and standardization may have been a local development.

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plumes strung over the dance ground at the rainmaking ceremony. The husband of one informant could "spit on a stick, twist it, and wring out water."(26) Such a man was known as *sliwanyi*, which means rain magician, rather than mere medicine man. It is the term applied to the rulers of the greathouses and also to the leader of the salt pilgrimage, who brings rain from the ocean.

War shamans were meeters of the owl in whose body the souls of the dead could become incarnated. Such a shaman accompanied a war party and spoke with the spirits of Papago warriors dead in the enemy country, who acted as spies on the Apache movements. Less often, he communicated with the peaceful dead at home. Miss Densmore [2] quotes some songs by an "owl woman" who held such communication in recent times. Other shamans acquired special powers for bringing luck in games and casting spells on the opponents. Before a kickball race, two who were so gifted rolled the ball back and forth between them, singing to insure power to their side. When the shirts, baskets, and hides wagered by the rival villages were piled up, each hoard was guarded by a shaman. During the wait before the race, these champions sometimes gave proof of their powers by swallowing swordlike sticks, eating fire, walking on hot embers, and causing objects to disappear. No harm came to the shaman who was worsted in the contest, but the poverty of his powers, thus revealed, took the strength from his village and made it almost certain to lose in the contest.

Shamans owned love magic. A "mushroom," which corresponds to the Huichol description of peyote, was a strong love charm. A man stalked it like a deer, and shot it with an arrow before it had time to disappear into the ground. He must then give it to a shaman for magic treatment before he could carry it as a love charm. One informant reported of a shaman: "He had four wives. By the time he took the fourth, he was a very old man, but as a shaman he could 'do something' to make her love him." Four, it may be mentioned, was the traditional number of the shaman's wives, while the average man rarely got beyond two. The standard taunt to one who could afford more was: "Well, have you become a shaman?"

[2] Densmore, pp. 114-34.

3: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935) 1936
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Then I took my baby and I went running with the other women down to the dance place. There was a little fire, and the eagle feathers strung up against the stars, and the liquor brewing, bubbling, where it was warm inside the council house.

In a great circle the men went round the fire, singing in the night to make the liquor brew. My husband walked at the head with his rattle. When we women came out of the dark to part the hands of the men and take our places between them, I stood beside my husband. There was where the best singers walked, boy and girl, boy and girl; those-who-stand-at-the-head.

[633]

Within the Quijotoa Mountain
There is a trembling
The ocean water there within
Is shaking.

It makes me want to cry, that song which brings the good rain.

I left my baby lying on a blanket, and the other women watched it. Between songs, when the men lit their cigarettes in the magic fire and smoked in the dark, I sat down to nurse the child. Once I fell asleep. My father-in-law was one of the medicine men standing in the center of the ring, turning his eagle feathers this way and that to catch the wind that was bringing rain, because it was dry yet, no rain had fallen. My father-in-law shook his eagle feather over me and drops of rain fell in my ear. Then I woke and sang again.

[791]

The medicine men made magic all night long, while we sang. They used to go to the string of eagles' feathers hanging outside the council house and shake them. If it was to rain soon, drops of rain would come whirling off those feathers. One man made a little pile of dirt and put a bit of eagle down on top of it. Eagle down is like the clouds; it calls them. Soon water came from the dry sky and wet that eagle down, so that the pile of earth was damp. Then he took up that eagle down and sprinkled all us dancers with it.

At the end of the second night's dancing, the medicine men told us when it would rain. We did not want it the next day, because that was when we drank our liquor. But after, when we were awake again and ready to plant our fields. And that was when it would come. We counted the days. On the night before rain should come, there was lightning in the south. On the next day, came the dust storm, bearing the rain on its back. And then the rain! But that was in the old days. Now the world is too old.

When the two night's singing was over, our liquor that was in the coun-

6: Densmore E-5 (1920) 1929NU28 Papago NU28

726 property. The Apache raids and the campaigns of the Papago against the Apache usually took place in cold weather. A war party was well organized, and it was customary to try to have a messenger reach the Papago village every morning with news from the expedition. There were no songs at the meetings before the departure of the warriors, but long speeches were made. These were not formal, memorized speeches like those made after the expedition had started, two of which are contained in this description. It was an old belief that a war party that did not carry an eagle feather would not be successful.

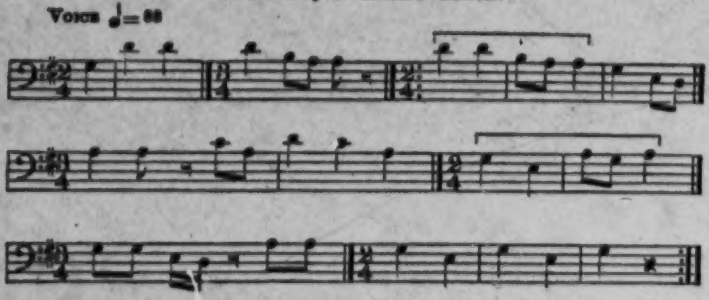
726 224 In the late afternoon the warriors divided into groups and chased wild game for their evening meal. An old informant said that neither bows and arrows nor a club was allowed, and the men were required to catch the game with their hands. Another man said these were allowed but firearms forbidden. Sometimes several men chased one jack rabbit. The proper way was to catch the rabbit around the neck, but if several caught the same rabbit it was usually torn in pieces, each man keeping the part he held. A little fire was made but its light was carefully shielded lest the enemy should see it. Over this fire the meat was slightly heated, but the practice of eating meat almost raw was said to "make the men fierce." A little pinole was carried by the warriors, and San Xavier was the last place at which war parties going east could obtain this part of their equipment.

726 X533 ●791 After the warriors had finished their scanty meal the leader addressed them as they sat in a great circle. The medicine men sat at a little distance toward the enemy and the singers were seated by themselves. It was the duty of the medicine men to locate the enemy, while the singers augmented their power by singing with them or "for them." Such were the only songs used by men on a war expedition. In his address the leader encouraged the warriors and, if if the campaign were particularly difficult, he appointed certain men as "killers" while others were designated to protect them. Such an organized attack was different from a haphazard fight in which everyone shot. After this had been arranged the time was given over to the divinations by the medicine men, assisted by the singers. The following is the opening song which was sung by the singers for the medicine men, the purpose being to increase their power.

6: Densmore E-5 (1920)1929 NU28 Papago NU28

No. 130. Opening Song of the War Camp
(Catalogue No. 923)

Recorded by Sivaniano Garcia



WORDS

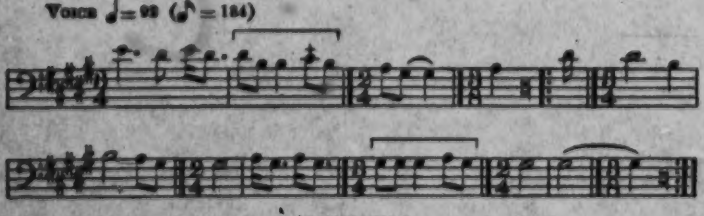
Hodunyĕ	gûṡma	thahewa	gûtanĭh
Night	coming down	sitting	in the night
kûnyĕmaj̆tha	miăths		
my enemy	try to locate		

Analysis.—This song is major in tonality with a special prominence of the sixth in the latter portion. It is interesting to note that if the opening of the song were in double time the third note would mark the beginning of the rhythmic unit. This shifting of accent is one of the most interesting peculiarities of Indian songs. Attention is directed to the descent of an octave in three measures and the descent of a seventh in two measures, as well as to the minor thirds at the close of this song.

It was said that one of the best medicine men was named Crow. On one occasion he was slow in taking his place with the other medicine men, so the following song was sung to call him. It is said that "when he heard this song he knew they really wanted him, so he came."

No. 131. "Help Us Locate Our Enemies."
(Catalogue No. 924)

Recorded by Sivaniano Garcia



TRANSLATION

Crow, hurry and come, sit down, help us locate our enemies.

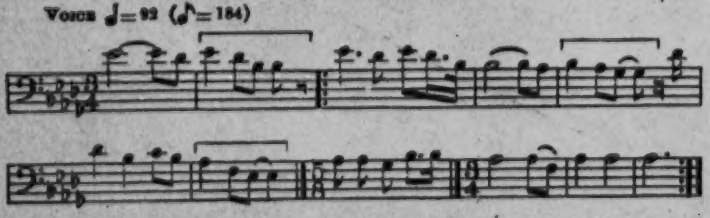
6: Densmore E-5 (1920)1929 NU28 Papago NU28

The medicine men worked one at a time and each had his own songs. The singers knew these songs and when a man was at work they sang his songs, the purpose being to augment his power in this manner. The methods employed by the medicine men were somewhat individual. For example, one man was accustomed to set an arrow in his bow and point it first in one direction and then in another as if he intended to shoot the arrow. By this action he seemed to "test" the direction of the enemy. Some men used a wand, pointing it in the general direction of the enemy, and others extended their hands. A man might extend his right hand toward the enemy and his left hand behind him, giving signals to the singers. A certain man used a wand in this manner and it was his custom to move it up and down rapidly four times if he wanted the singers to sing faster and louder, doing this when he felt that he was finding the direction of the enemy and desired a strengthening of his power.

The idea of the next song is that the medicine man brings the enemy so near that the warriors can see them.

No. 132. Song for the Enemy's Country (Catalogue No. 925)

Recorded by Sivaniano Garcia



WORDS

Cyĕvŭt	miăwa	yuŭld	miăwa	nŭtha
The land	nearer	appears	in sight nearer	we can see
nyĕunaitha	miăwa	yuŭld		
my enemies	nearer	appear in sight		

Analysis.—This song is classified as major in tonality with D flat as its keynote, though it is a particularly free melody. The keynote is next to the highest tone in the song, which is unusual. There is an urging quality in the short phrases which have a descending trend. This effect is changed by the 5–8 measures and the song ends with an ascending progression which suggests a query.

One of the medicine men had power to summon a "spirit coyote" and send it forth as a spy. He sent the coyote early in the morning to see how the enemy could be attacked most effectively and said the attack should be made as soon as the coyote returned, which would be in a short time. The power of another medicine man lay in his ability to call the winds and clouds. The Apache would hear a wind,

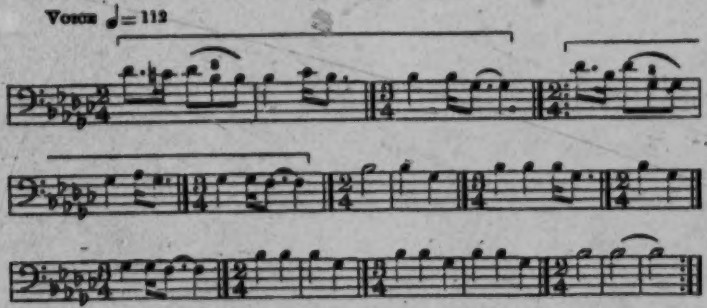
6: Densmore E-5 (1920) 1929NU28 Papago NU28

and clouds would gather with the noise of an approaching storm. This caused them to stay at home and the Papago made their attack before morning. The Chippewa and Sioux medicine man who accompanied a war party also sang songs to bring a storm so that the enemy would remain in their tents and the war party make an effective attack.

The following song of the Papago medicine men could be sung at the close of the *Limo*, as well as on the warpath.

No. 133. Song to Bring the Clouds (Catalogue No. 926)

Recorded by SIVARIANO GARCIA



WORDS

Cûwakĭki	wûmĭś	hĭmtha	wûmaci	gamûko
Clouds	together	going	with him	far away
hĭmtha	nyĕmaitha	zazakali	nanaki	
going	my enemies	staggering	as if crazy	

TRANSLATION

Heavy clouds going with him.
Clouds going far away.
Our enemies stagger as though drunk.

Analysis.—Two distinct rhythms occur in this song, one represented by the rhythmic unit and the other consisting chiefly of quarter notes. A curious interruption of rhythm occurs midway through the song. The second and third measures are duplicated in the tenth and twelfth (with a slight change in accent), while the ninth measure, with its double time, is inserted between them. The minor thirds at the close of the song are somewhat similar to those in No. 130. The song has a compass of six tones and is harmonic in structure.

When the medicine men said they had succeeded in locating the enemy it was customary for speeches to be made by the warriors. Any man who knew these speeches could rise and deliver them. After such a speech the men made a false charge, rushing forward against an imaginary enemy.

6: Densmore E-5 (1920) 1929NU28 Papago NU28

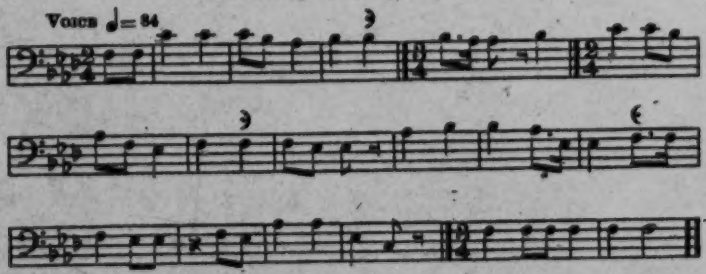
X 533 *Analysis.*—This song is entirely different in character from the preceding group, in accordance with its use. It is a lively melody with a simple rhythmic unit which is frequently repeated. The fourth is an interval associated with motion, and this interval constitutes 16 of the 50 intervals in this song. The compass of the song is nine tones, with the keynote about midway, and the melody moves freely between the highest and lowest tones.

[191] It is said that medicine men were able to secure success for a racer by the use of their psychic power. The following is the song of such a man, seeking success for a friend. The words of this song were not recorded.

No. 149. Song for Success in a Race

(Catalogue No. 993)

Recorded by MATTHIAS HENDRICKS



Analysis.—This song is more serious in character than the preceding. It opens with two rather wistful phrases but becomes more confident at the ninth measure. A feeling of uncertainty reappears in the last two measures. It is interesting to note the frequency with which an accented tone is approached by an ascending progression. The ninth and sixteenth measures are rendered more effective by the preceding eighth rest and ascent of a fourth. The ascending and descending intervals are about equal in number (11 and 12), which is unusual in Indian songs.

SONGS OF THE BAT DANCE

X 533 535 This dance is seldom held at the present time but was witnessed by the writer on the night of December 25, 1920. In order to see this, it was necessary to go about 90 miles from a town and 10 miles from Vomari village where songs were recorded. Men and women joined in this dance, moving in a circle and holding hands but not facing steadily inward. They walked behind one another, the line being led by a man who carried a gourd rattle in his right hand, shaking it in time to the music. All sang, and emphasized the song by stamping with the right foot. There was a leader of the singers as well as of

17:Castetter & Underhill N,E-5 (1931-1934) 1935
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796 During the summer various nights of singing were held to encourage the growth of crops. In the autumn, when deer hunting began, a deer was ceremonially killed and its flesh eaten after a night of singing and dancing to produce health for the people. Every four years—or, in the southern part of the reservation, every year—a harvest ceremony followed the deer dance. At this time elaborate effigies representing clouds, corn, and other good things of life were carried in a procession by masked singers. If illness threatened a village a special night of singing and dancing was held to drive it away.

796 The Papagos felt a need not only for food, but for magic
778 power to sustain them through the hardships of life. Such power, they held, might be attained by the performance of three acts, fraught with supernatural mystery: one was the taking of an enemy scalp, one the killing of an eagle, and one the fetching of salt from the barren desert bordering the Gulf of California. After doing any of these things, a man had brought himself in contact with the supernatural. But this was not enough. He must next purify himself by days of fasting. Then a ceremony must be held over him with the singing of Elder Brother's songs, lest his own magic injure him. Any man undergoing purification might have dreams in which some supernatural being would visit him and teach him songs which would help him cure disease, to run swiftly, to fight, or to hunt.

791 It was in just such dreams that the medicine man ob-
787 tained his unusual power, but he must dream longer than the others. For years he did not tell of his constant supernatural experiences but finally began trying his ability, and at last was accepted publicly. This new power did not as a rule enable him to cure; he only "saw" the disease after singing and smoking to bring himself to the clairvoyant state. He then told the waiting family what had caused
755 the illness—the rabbit, the badger, the eagle, some other offended animal, or perhaps the breaking of a ceremonial rule. The cure was homeopathic. Some one must be sent